The Path to Deadlock—*J. Alvarez del Vayo*

THE *Nation*

*May 12, 1951*

# The Debate Opens

Bevan's Rebellion - - - - *Howard K. Smith*
MacArthur Revealed - - - *Willard Shelton*
Why Our Allies Complain - *Fritz Sternberg*
The General's Sanctuary - - *Freda Kirchwey*

*

# Free Trade: Fading Dream

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

*

# The Railroads and the 14th Amendment

BY DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY

MAY 11 1951

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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# The Shape of Things

IN ISSUING THE EXECUTIVE ORDER CREATING the Loyalty Review Board on March 21, 1947, President Truman made it clear that a major purpose was to improve the morale of the federal service by protecting government workers against baseless and malicious charges. Much was said then and later about the existence of standards and procedures which would keep the program from degenerating into a witch hunt. One requirement was that the board must find, on the evidence, that "reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person involved is disloyal." The President has now removed this safeguard by authorizing the discharge of federal employees when the board entertains a "reasonable doubt" of their loyalty. The effect of this amendment, if not its intention, is to vest the board with a virtually unlimited discretion. To say that the standard of "reasonableness" still remains is nonsense; with the burden of proof shifted to the employee, the standard vanishes into thin air.

*

IT IS SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT FELT HE had to take this action because of the difficulties which the board experienced with the Remington case. But over a year ago Cabell Phillips reported in the New York *Times* that Senator McCarthy's charges had "revived some discussion" about the necessity of putting the loyalty program on "a permanent and perhaps broader basis"—meaning one with fewer safeguards for the accused. Senator McCarthy's discovery of the vulnerability of the Administration dates from the completion of the first federal loyalty audit in December, 1949. To call this audit in question, McCarthy merely had to raise a doubt as to its validity—"the great doubt" exploited so effectively in the Tydings campaign. Few American politicians have won bigger stakes on weaker hands. The Senator has been piling up the chips by exploiting the reluctance of the Administration to take, and hold, a principled position. It will be noted that the State Department has now decided to "reopen" the case of John S. Service.

*

THE REPORT OF THE KEFAUVER COMMITTEE filed on May 2 called forth a batch of sermons and editorials on the theme that, all things considered, crime seems to pay pretty well. Approval of the report was nearly unanimous; and the popular verdict was that the committee should continue its work. Unfortunately the devastating appraisal of William O'Dwyer, the former mayor's weak rebuttal, and President Truman's still weaker defense of his ambassador to Mexico have served to divert public attention from significant aspects of the report. Underworlds imply the existence of overworlds. The relationship between these worlds should have been the prime concern of the investigators. To be sure, the committee found evidence that organized criminals had infiltrated into business; but it might well have found, on the same evidence, not only that these criminals had copied the organization and methods of business but that most of the crime syndicates owe their existence and their vast profits to some service they sell to or buy from "respectable" business men. The key problem, in all such investigations, is to trace to their ultimate sources, the funds which are used to corrupt officials. The report barely touches upon this crucial issue, in relation to which William O'Dwyer—his manners and his morals—did not play too important a role during his term in office.

*

WILL THE NEW CONTROLS ON CATTLE AND beef prices really cut costs to consumers by 8 to 10 cents a pound by October 1, or will they lead to a beef famine and flourishing black markets? Ranchers and cattle-feeders who are furious at the action of the Office of Price Stabilization predict the second of these outcomes, and, as was to be expected, they have the support of the Senate Agriculture Committee, which has adopted a resolution calling for repeal of the order "without delay." Yet no one can say that cattle-raising is a depressed branch of farming. As of April 15 prices of beef cattle stood at 152 per cent of the parity level which is supposed to represent a fair price in relation to farm costs. A rollback in three stages of 18 per cent in current prices paid by slaughterers and packers will still bring cattle-raisers 120 to 125 per cent of parity and a rather better dollars-and-cents return than before the outbreak of the Korean war. There can be little sympathy with cattlemen who call the OPS order "confisca-

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tory." What concerns the housewife is whether a producers' strike, which is threatened, will in fact reduce the legitimate supply of beef. In this connection we note that the total number of cattle on the farms is at a high point—six million head more than three years ago. If the producers refuse to sell at the ceiling prices, they will have a problem in feeding and financing these large herds. Of course they can, without penalty, sell at higher prices if they can find buyers prepared to flout the law. But the OPS has registered all slaughterers, and those who pay more than legal prices or fail to keep full records can be put out of business. Thus, provided the OPS can recruit enough staff to do an effective policing job, the black market will depend on backyard operators wholly outside the law, and we doubt very much if it will attain any importance.

*

IN ITALY THE POLITICAL TEMPERATURE rises as the municipal elections approach. Without having the significance of the general elections in France, they will reflect the mood of the Italian people and indicate how far the shrewd De Gasperi has succeeded in repairing the damage caused by the withdrawal from his Cabinet of Saragat's Socialists, a move which reduced the coalition to its own divided Christian-Democrats and to the small Republican Party, with its two stars, Sforza and Pacciardi. The Saragat ministers had to leave in order to meet the demand of Romita, leader of the center Socialist group, who made this the condition of the merger of the two factions. The merged party—called the Italian Section of the Socialist International (P. S.—S. I. S.)—has been characterized by most Roman commentators as a "marriage of convenience." It was motivated by a common desire to strengthen the anti-Communist front in the coming municipal elections by preventing a dispersion of votes. The new party has entered into a series of local deals with other anti-Communist parties, even the Christian-Democrats, in most of the provincial capitals where elections will be held. All this has disturbed the leftists of the former Romita party, especially its two most significant spokesmen, Ignazio Silone and Matteo Matteotti. Silone, who placed too much hope in the split in the Communist Party led by Magnani and Cucchi, again finds himself in the role of a dissenter who constantly appeals for a unity he cannot bring about. Promptly taking advantage of the new situation, Togliatti, Communist leader, has seized the platform of "neutralism" abandoned by Romita and has promised to support any government, even one headed by de Gasperi, that will regain its "independence from America." Some close observers believe that this new Communist strategy—perhaps even mapped out during Togliatti's recent trip to Moscow—may indicate a major shift in the party line throughout Europe.




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# The Right to Be Neutral

*L'AFFAIRE GILSON* has been hotly debated in France. It is of interest to Americans not only because of the issues involved but because it was first made public in this country. M. Etienne Gilson, member of the French Academy and one of the greatest living medieval historians, has been connected with the Collège de France for forty-three years. During the German occupation he refused several offers to teach abroad and remained in France. As an eminent Catholic, he created acute discomfort two years ago among the advocates of a "tough" policy toward Russia by writing a series of articles for the conservative Paris *Monde* which suggested that Europe remain neutral in the struggle between Russia and the United States.

Since the current American practice of classifying anyone in favor of a negotiated settlement as a fellow-traveler or a hireling of Moscow had not yet spread to France, M. Gilson's first articles were received there with approval or disapproval, according to the bias of the commentator, but with thoughtful respect. The "neutralist" movement that subsequently developed in France, Italy, and other Western countries attained proportions its originator had not anticipated, and aroused such controversy that M. Gilson was finally impelled to publish a statement, also in the *Monde*. The atmosphere, he said, had become so impassioned that any objective discussion of relations with Russia was impossible. He himself, being a thinker rather than a fighter, was retiring from the debate. For personal reasons, he had decided to establish himself for a time in Toronto.

But his ideas persisted even after he no longer urged them, and were frequently cited by the more active French neutralists. To counter them, fanatical opponents of any agreement with Russia launched a campaign to discredit him. It was opened by a letter published in the American Catholic weekly *Commonweal*, signed by Professor Waldemar Gurian, which accused M. Gilson of having "preached the sad gospel of defeatism" at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana and quoted him as having said that he had left France because he did not want to endure another occupation.

Charges that he was a "traitor" and a "fugitive" were immediately hurled at M. Gilson by the weekly *Carrefour*, representing the Catholic Gaullists, and by various publications whose sole idea is to attack Russia. Smarting under the injustice, the distinguished historian also dipped his pen in vitriol and wrote a reply to Professor Gurian which was published in *Le Monde* of March 8. One paragraph ran as follows:

> You have lied three times; and I may add that you are the last man who should have spoken of these things. . . . You have yourself twice sought refuge, the first time in Germany, the second time in America. . . . Today you are sporting on the grassy plains of Indiana . . . When you have finished the work you have still to do between Riga and Vladivostok, you will have the right to speak.

Since then it has been learned that M. Gilson has kept his house in Burgundy and has no intention of quitting France for good. In any case, as various French neutralists have pointed out, he has not followed the example of some of those ardent French patriots who when the Korean crisis became acute took the precaution of sending their wealth to North Africa and keeping their yachts, ready for a get-away.

*L'Affaire Gilson* has various illuminating facets. It shows how widespread is the tendency to libel wildly anyone who maintains an independent attitude on the war issue, even a person whom only an idiot could call pro-Russian. At the same time the readiness with which many diverse groups rushed to the defense of M. Gilson is encouraging. It shows that people who want to preserve liberty of thought and expression will still hit back at those who are trying to use the Great Debate on war and peace as a means of settling old political scores.

# The General's Sanctuary

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

PERHAPS the most important aspect of General MacArthur's testimony last week was something which became evident only by degrees, as the first effects of his vigor, clarity, and absolute assurance began to wear off. It was this: the General himself, like the Chinese in Manchuria, occupies a "privileged sanctuary" from which he emerges to do battle when conditions warrant and in which he takes instant shelter when it looks as if he might be walking into a trap. That sanctuary is his former post as theater commander. Its value during the Senate inquiry was twofold. First, it insured complete respect for his analysis of the Korean fighting and the somber results that would flow from a long continued stalemate. Second, with this as background, it enabled him to advocate a declared war against China itself, without accepting any responsibility whatsoever for the world-wide military and political consequences of such a move, while at the same time freely expressing or cautiously refusing to express his opinion as to the probability of one consequence or another.

He insisted that a "limited" war, such as he had been forced to conduct in Korea, was one which meant unlimited casualties; that the way to end the war promptly was to bomb China's supply lines and utilize Chiang Kai-shek's forces for landings on the Chinese coast: that an attack on China would not in his opinion result in retaliation by the Chinese Communists or intervention by Russia. He confidently expounded his reasons for believ-



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ing the war would be ended rather than extended by this strategy—China's weakness in all but man-power, Russia's unpreparedness in the Far East—but retired to his sanctuary when questioners tried to find out what was actually known about Soviet or Chinese intentions, Soviet strength in Europe, Russia's atomic-bomb stock, or what would happen in case the Chinese fought back or retaliated in another quarter, or Moscow decided, after all, to come to the assistance of its ally, perhaps with a "limited" action of its own. These were matters for the Administration, for the Joint Chiefs, not for a mere theater commander, and so, he said, had been the responsibility of knowing, last November, that the Chinese were preparing to cross the Yalu.

Since the entire validity of MacArthur's case depends on probabilities which lie outside the purview of a theater commander, one may wonder how any man can have the temerity to argue it with such assurance. But temerity is a quality the General has to a degree no Senator was able to match; with the result that his testimony was never effectively challenged even on the limited but humanly crucial issue of American casualties. The question—what evidence have we that American lives would be saved if the attack were carried to China?—led directly into the General's privileged sanctuary. And from that base not even the earnest probings of Senator McMahon could dislodge him.

YET MacArthur emerged from his three-day ordeal, not only calm and fresh as a daisy, but clearly the champion of a positive policy, an end-the-war policy, as against the negative, resist-aggression policy of Truman and Acheson. And as the current week began, it was apparent that if the Administration's position was to be retrieved it would be by other generals—Marshall, Bradley, perhaps Eisenhower—who have the ungrateful task of justifying a bloody holding operation whose end, from a military point of view, cannot even be discerned. This in itself is a damaging confession of weakness on the part of the Administration, this dependence on military leaders to defend what, in its largest aspect, is a political more than a military policy.

Those who support the government's position will continue to explain that limited war in Korea and the patience to endure it may be the price of peace, the only way to win time for the consolidation of our alliances and the preparation of our defenses against still greater perils. They will doubtless reject MacArthur's optimistic guesses as to the chance of a general war growing out of his proposed war on China and will emphasize the threat this strategy offers to Europe and our interests there. Britain's growing distress over the steps now being taken in the direction advocated by the General will serve to illustrate the point. But the Administration's case is still a negative one, desperately hard to sell to a public sick of tension and horrified by the monthly toll, so often and eloquently cited by MacArthur, of "thousands and thousands and thousands" of American dead. What the American people need today, need and demand, is leadership, clarity, something positive and active and hopeful. They demand peace, with victory. All this MacArthur symbolizes and promises. Can the Administration successfully counter this lavish offering with its doctrine of limited war—which is the other name for stalemate?

Our policy in Asia has in truth been unsure, vacillating, and lacking in courage. Republican pressure forced a reversal of our proclaimed stand on Formosa; it prevented early recognition of the Peking government; it set us at odds with the independent nations in the U. N. Today it is responsible, one must assume, for the latest shift in our policy toward Formosa: the new American military mission will build up and ready Chiang's army for battle—though where and how it is to fight no one can say, if it is not to be sent to the mainland. And as this issue goes to press, the United States is sponsoring a formal resolution in the Sanctions Committee of the General Assembly calling for a war-materials embargo against China and the creation of a "watchdog" committee. Besides this, the State Department is getting ready to advocate a blockade of the China coast and the right to bomb Manchuria if things get worse in Korea. In other words, even while Mr. Acheson and the generals defend their policy of restraint as opposed to MacArthur's policy of aggression, they are preparing to follow his lead unless the Chinese obligingly cooperate in maintaining a relatively quiet front.

The logic of war is on the side of MacArthur. The logic of peace demands a far more positive and courageous course of action than the Administration has ever shown the will to adopt. Perhaps peace is now out of reach, but we shall not know as long as the President accepts MacArthur's premises in regard to Formosa and Chiang, the Peking government, Syngman Rhee, the Thirty-eighth Parallel, and tomorrow adopts his views on the bombing and blockading of China. The only effective answer to the General's plan would be a new, honest effort to make peace. Instead of clamoring for sanctions the American delegation in the United Nations should be directed to sponsor new approaches to a settlement. The success of the U. N. forces in blocking China's latest drive across the Parallel gives us another psychological moment for such an attempt. And with MacArthur at home, if not exactly out of circulation, a peace move presumably would not again be anticipated, and destroyed, by the initiative of a theater commander.

Peace by negotiation would be something to offer the American public, something better than indefinite stalemate in Korea—and better, too, than "peace" by expanded war.



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# *Bevan's Rebellion*

## BY HOWARD K. SMITH

*London, May 2*

PEOPLE here are absorbed in a great debate as to whether Aneurin Bevan's resignation from the Labor Cabinet was an ear-splitting bang as a man earmarked for power by history thundered his answer to history's call or just a whimper in the night as a peevish politician went off to sulk in the wilderness.

First reactions to his declaration of war on the moderate leaders of Labor favored the conclusion that his gesture was of little moment. His violent and rather arrogant tirade in the House of Commons against the Cabinet he had just quit made a bad impression and was listened to in hostile silence by a House that usually cheers the eloquent Welshman to the rafters. When he left the chamber after his statement, only one of some three hundred Labor members rose to shake his hand—this was a well-known pacifist who carries no weight in the party.

The next day, at a secret conclave of all Labor parliamentarians to discuss the split, he seemed more isolated than ever, though in the meantime two other ministers had followed in his footsteps and left the government. The two other resigning ministers—Harold Wilson from the Board of Trade and John Freeman from the Ministry of Supply—seemed to emphasize Bevan's loneliness rather than provide him support, for their speeches explaining their resignations were conciliatory to the Cabinet in marked contrast to Bevan's fiery defiance.

In the circumstances an unnamable minister whose opinion I asked seemed justified in comparing Nye Bevan with that other stormy, imaginative, and boastful Welshman, Owen Glendower, in Part I of Shakespeare's "Henry IV." Glendower in the play tops off a series of wild boasts with the claim, "I can call spirits from the vasty deep," to which the irritated Hotspur answers, "Why, so can I, or so can any man, but will they come when you do call them?" It seemed that Nye Bevan's long-implied claim to control spirits of rebellion in the Labor movement was no less empty than Glendower's.

The following morning, however, people began to wonder. A meeting of the Labor Party's national executive to discuss the crisis ended with a vote of twenty to four against Bevan. A meeting of the executive of the Trades Unions Congress—the main constituent body of the party—later in the day produced a vote of thirteen to six against him. The minority supporting him was growing. If rank-and-file members represented at the latter meeting are counted, Bevan received the support of two million organized laborers against the Cabinet's eight million.

On the following day the moderate leadership got its worst jolt so far. At a Glasgow conference of delegates from all Scottish trade unions the executive introduced a resolution supporting the Cabinet against Bevan. In a stormy scene the delegates rejected the resolution and put up one of their own supporting Bevan's criticisms—and it was passed by an overwhelming majority.

And on the day after that a Gallup poll was published which indicated a surprising state of sentiment. Sixty per cent of the people sampled upheld Bevan in his contention that no charge should be placed on the free health service. A plurality also said he had done right in resigning. On other issues of the conflict Bevan received minority support, according to the poll, but his minorities ranged from 30 to 40 per cent of the people—big enough minorities to inform the Attlee-Morrison leadership that it had a fight on its hands.

Meanwhile, support for the rebel has grown in the parliamentary party. Where Bevan had but one visible adherent on the day of his speech, at the present moment, a week later, eleven Labor parliamentarians have publicly supported his stand and a score more have done so privately.

The evidence of ten days, however, is still too little to answer the opening question. As Bevan's opponents say, his rebellion took the party by surprise; when the party hierarchy has had time to get its powerful party and union organization wound up, it will grind Bevan—who possesses no organization—under its treads. Equally convincingly, his adherents argue that this much support has come to him spontaneously before he has gone to the country and applied his tremendous personal magnetism to win people to his views. (For three years, in the voting of local Labor parties for the National Executive, Bevan has topped the list, far ahead of his nearest competitor and main antagonist, Herbert Morrison.)

SPECULATION about future developments turns on two questions. The first concerns the fascinating personality of Aneurin Bevan: whether he has the stature to carry out his grand design of capturing organized labor and altering the course of the Western alliance—for it is essentially on this that he has made his challenge. The second concerns the nature of the times in which we live: are they ripe for a revival of the left-wing socialism

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Bevan has claimed will save us all from economic collapse at home and war abroad?

A valid estimate of Nye Bevan's stature is hard to arrive at, for his political career to date offers evidence sufficient for any sort of judgment. Even his bitter Tory enemies admit his positive qualities: it required extraordinary talent and character for a Welsh lad who had spent eight years in the coal mines to rise to the status of a brilliant intellectual and an orator who today knows only Winston Churchill as peer. In the first five years of Labor's term he amazed his critics by demonstrating executive ability of a high and responsible kind. As Minister for Labor more recently he won universal acclaim by preventing a big railway strike.

But even his friends admit that his ringing speeches show flashes of a childlike volatility. While building up an overpowering structure of argument, he will frequently seem to sweep himself off his feet and throw out some adolescent boast. Or, rattled by a heckler, he has been known suddenly to swear at his audience, ruining by one remark all the sympathy he had built up by his logic. The class hatreds of his boyhood are still deep and powerful in him; many suspect that since he has become an intellectual those hatreds have turned into a general scorn for all who disagree with him.

His critics argue that egotism, not idealism, was the cause of his revolt against the party leaders. When Sir Stafford Cripps left the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, Nye Bevan was passed over and a young unknown, Hugh Gaitskell, was given the job. When Ernest Bevin left the Foreign Office, Nye was again neglected and his arch-foe, Herbert Morrison, was chosen. The mainspring of his revolt was thus, the argument goes, pure disappointed ambition.

Many of his enemies place his motives on a still lower level. He saw, they say, that Labor was losing ground with the voters and was bound to be defeated in a future election; so he deserted a sinking ship in order to escape blame for the disaster and to be able to place it on the heads of Attlee and Morrison. Nye Bevan would then emerge as the prophet and the leader of the party.

There may be something to this, but the non-partisan observer must admit equal plausibility in the argument of his friends. Nye, they say, has never exhibited the opportunism these motives would imply. He has in every public utterance and act always been an outspoken adherent of left-wing socialism. By this conduct he has frequently embarrassed Attlee, which is evidence of his constancy. Nye saw, the argument goes on, that the party was at an indecisive dead-end of policy; the British left was collapsing in a philosophic doubt as to what it really stood for. The Budget showed that in confusion it was moving rightward, the way of the liberal reform party which dies for lack of convictions.

In the larger picture he saw that the West was at a dead-end, trying to combat an idea with military instruments, and that the program to create the instruments would so derange economies and exacerbate social friction that the West would defeat its own purpose. (This was the burden of his resignation argument in the Commons.) So what was an honest politician to do? Quite clearly the answer is do what Nye did: cry out against it all and try to change Britain's and the West's course before it is too late. In other words, his supporters insist, he acted not from base personal motives but as a broad-visioned statesman in a moment of crisis.

THAT brings up the second question: Is the world as Aneurin Bevan envisions it; are the times receptive to the leadership and left-wing socialism he has offered? Within the spatial limits of Britain, his opponents believe, Bevan is hopelessly wrong. The British working classes whom he seeks to woo are the world's soberest, not susceptible to demagoguery or fancy orations. They have gained much from six years of Labor government and are in no mood to destroy the leaders who got it all for them. His supporters retort that Britain's, and Europe's, economies are barely convalescent. There is no margin of wealth with which to undertake extravagant arms programs. In a time of rising prices caused by "wrong-headed" budgeting for arms, Labor is a tinderbox. Bevan, as a firm anti-Communist, will inflame it as no Communist suspected of obeying a foreign power could ever do.

In the larger frame of general Western policy for winning the cold war, the moderate leaders adhere steadfastly to the American conception that the Russians respect only force. To negotiate peace with them we must therefore build military strength from which to bargain. Thus rearmament is the first prerequisite for attaining the great goal of world peace. The bulk of British—and Western—humanity agrees with this conception and this policy. So after the first novelty of Bevan's different policy wears off, he will be lost in a lonely wilderness.

Bevan's friends read current history differently. As Bevan said in his Commons speech, "It has always been clear that the weapons of totalitarian states are first social and economic, and only next military; and if, in attempting to meet the military effect of those machines, the economies of the Western world are disrupted and the standard of living lowered, Soviet communism establishes a whole series of Trojan horses in every nation."

The dispute is an old one, as old as humanity—whether a civilization falls because of outside force or inside weakness. The Bevanites say the latter. They believe, moreover, that a mighty undercurrent of common-man opinion in the world holds that the contest of our time will be won on social rather than economic terms, and that Nye Bevan is the man to bring that undercurrent to the surface and propel it into a flood.



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# *MacArthur Revealed*

BY WILLARD SHELTON

*Washington, May 3*

THE furor over Far Eastern policy reached fever-pitch today as General MacArthur began his testimony before the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations committees, and there were unmistakable signs that the Democrats have rallied for a counter-attack against the Republican effort to exploit the General politically.

Charges of "whitewashing" the Administration have been hurled against Senator Richard B. Russell, chairman of the joint meeting of the two committees, and the other Democrats who decided by a strict party-line vote to hold the hearings in executive session. "Whitewash," said Senator Jenner of Indiana, "is one of the cheapest commodities this Administration has got," and he was supported by one of the more "respectable" Republicans, Senator Ferguson of Michigan. Surprisingly, Senator Cain of Washington begged his colleagues not to make such accusations. Cain said he had disagreed with the decision against open hearings but was "convinced that no single member voted for executive sessions because of any desire to whitewash the investigation"; and he urged his colleagues "not to credit bad faith" to any member of the committees.

All this is reminiscent of the investigation of the State Department last year, when Jenner and McCarthy shouted "whitewash" so violently that Senator Millard Tydings was ultimately blown out of office. But there are differences—one being that a substantial group of Republicans have serious doubts about crawling out on a limb with General MacArthur, and another that the Democrats are more tenaciously defending the President and his policy.

The release of practically verbatim transcripts of testimony after slight "security" censorship has permitted an appalling disclosure of military, strategic, and diplomatic information. MacArthur has stimulated anti-European isolationism by dismissing the contributions of our allies in the Korean conflict as mere "token" aid, without even mentioning the military commitments of Britain and France elsewhere in Asia. He has told the Kremlin, as well as Congress and the American people, what he thinks he knows about the Russian land, sea, and air power based in the Soviet maritime provinces and his own strategic calculations about Russia's intentions and capabilities.

Release of the Wake Island report last night disclosed more than we had ever known before about MacArthur's views on keeping an American garrison in Japan after conclusion of a peace treaty. Release of the Wedemeyer report on Korea, followed by Republican clamor against the President, was dangerous abuse of a military-diplomatic document for domestic political purposes. If such things are to be dragged out, one might expect to see published for partisan controversy every confidential report to the State and Defense departments from our embassies all over the world.

Open sessions—with some questions and answers reserved as usual for executive meetings—could do no more harm than the procedure adopted. The leaks already have begun. Moreover, ninety-six verbose Senators, each of whom thinks he has the right to decide what is censorable and what he may release anonymously, can actually distort the public picture by revealing partial facts and half-truths that seem to give one party a political advantage. By the time MacArthur, Secretary Acheson, General Marshall, and the Joint Chiefs finish their testimony, the Soviets, and all the world, will have an enormous mass of valuable information.

Certain points have emerged in MacArthur's testimony which may cause some doubts among those who have so fervently adopted him. He has revealed nothing but contempt for the United Nations. He proposes to end the Korean fighting by all-out air and sea attack on China's mainland and if necessary to make that attack alone, with no allies in either Europe or Asia except Chiang Kai-shek. That is the logic to which he is driven by his theory that the Korean war—or any war in which he may be involved—cannot possibly be won except through a maximum of force thrown into that particular theater, with disregard for strategic requirements elsewhere and disdain for the natural function of the diplomat—to limit the fighting if possible while attaining the objectives. He took that position while admitting that he knew little about America's or Russia's stock of atomic weapons, little or nothing about the North Atlantic Pact, little about China, little about the United Nations, whose supreme commander he has been—in fact, that he was a mere "theater commander" without responsibility for global strategy.

One need not be a military expert to observe that MacArthur cannot and does not promise—he merely hopes and believes—that bombing China would ultimately extricate us from our difficulties. The General's anachronisms about the "Oriental mind" and "face," considered in the light of Asia's new nationalisms, reveal an extraordinary heedlessness of history. It may properly be asked whether his revolt against Mr. Truman may not cost us more lives in Korea, as our enemies observe our confusion and are encouraged to prolong the fight, than would have been lost had he kept his appropriate position as a soldier. The General can say, correctly, that as commander in the Far East he did not disobey the orders of his superiors, but he undoubtedly launched a campaign—which he has served notice that he will continue—to force the President to change



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those orders. That was insubordination, and that is why he had to be recalled.

In the end the Republicans may discover that they are not exploiting MacArthur but rather that MacArthur, a professional military man, has hoodwinked and exploited them. They are a frustrated group of politicians, but they should have known better than to let themselves be captured by a general on a white horse. Yesterday one of the shrewdest Republicans on Capitol Hill said privately that if this controversy goes on another six months it will split the G. O. P. wide open—non-isolationist, pro-United Nations Republicans cannot possibly tolerate domination of their party either by MacArthur himself or by a Presidential candidate tied to MacArthur's coattails.

The Democrats have shown better morale and greater clarity of thought than they managed to muster last year during the McCarthy smear campaign. Senators Kerr of Oklahoma, McMahon of Connecticut, and Neely of West Virginia have fought hard throughout the ferocious Senate debate. Now that MacArthur has exposed his hand more fully, now that he has recited his contempt for the United Nations and for the whole system of alliances built up to secure the Western world and to avoid the tragedy of global war, their work should be easier and they may get more help from their colleagues. A few other Democrats who have been groaning in indecision may be shocked out of their doubts by what MacArthur has revealed as his policy—total war on China and total disregard of the opinions of the rest of mankind.

# *The Path to Deadlock*

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

TEN weeks of attacks and counter-attacks, of discussions of fundamental issues and peripheral details, of high politics and petty quarreling, have left the average citizen of the world confused, bored, and despairing about the Paris conference of the deputies of the Big Four Foreign Ministers. Since its failure or success will largely decide whether the international situation is to become much worse or somewhat better, an attempt to clarify its involved and endless debates seems in order.

The conference started on March 5. Antagonism developed at once over the question of giving priority to the German question, which was Moscow's reason for requesting the conference. Commenting on the first meetings, the London *Economist* said (March 10): "The Western deputies were ill-advised to contest the Russian wish to put Germany at the head of the list of topics to be discussed, for it is clear to everyone that this is the central problem." The Western deputies insisted that the general causes of the tension in Europe should be taken up first, since this would give them an opportunity to attack the post-war policies of the Kremlin. Thereupon the debate became long and impassioned. The West proposed putting Austria on the agenda; the Russians replied with a demand for reopening the question of Trieste. Every painful point at issue was endlessly discussed—the Balkans, Iran, Indo-China, Korea—although the purpose of the conference was not to settle these questions but simply to draft the agenda for a conference of the Foreign Ministers. Whenever Mr. Jessup reiterated that the causes of the international tension should be discussed first, Mr. Gromyko answered with virulent attacks on the establishment of American military bases in Europe and the Middle East, the Italian peace treaty, the denazification of Austria, and above all the Atlantic Pact.

After a while the Western delegates, especially the French, recognized that the world would not be blown to pieces by the mere mention of the Atlantic Pact. The Western powers had a perfect right to present the pact as a reply to the policies of the Kremlin, but Mr. Gromyko could claim, if he wished to, that it was part of the American policy, enunciated in the Truman Doctrine, of containing Russia and communism, everywhere in the world and by every possible means.

The battle over putting the pact on the agenda led to a counter-offensive by Dr. Jessup designed to insure the discussion of the specific military situation in each of the satellite states—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the rest—and to prevent the lumping of all that under the general subject of reduction of armaments.

Several times during the conference the question arose whether it would not be better for the Foreign Ministers to meet even if they brought with them two different lists of topics to be discussed. A meeting would at least represent a last supreme effort, on a high official level, to keep the international situation from degenerating into a total war. Another suggestion which has been made each time the conference has threatened to break up is that the framers of the agenda should put only three items on it—Germany, armaments, Austria—and let the Foreign Ministers try their luck with them.

In between the disappointments of the long and fruitless weeks in Paris there have been moments when an accord seemed almost within reach. For instance, the new draft agenda presented by Mr. Gromyko on April 4 contained concessions which closely approached Western demands. Mr. Jessup might have seized the opportunity to strike a bargain, but according to commentators who can certainly not be accused of pro-Soviet sympathies, like the experienced Pertinax, he stuck out stubbornly for the text he had offered on April 2. One of Gromyko's concessions was a proposal to discuss not only



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the causes but "all the effects" of European tension. The Westerners, however, and especially the Americans viewed this as a cunning maneuver to obtain priority for the German issue. Though theoretically such an enlarged agenda would permit any foreign minister to introduce any subject, the Americans feared that the Russians would be able to halt negotiations early in the conference by refusing to discuss other matters until the question of German demilitarization had been settled.

Last week's sessions were comparatively calm. Previously a violent controversy over Korea had brought the conference to the verge of breakdown. Mr. Gromyko had delivered what seemed to the West an intolerably arrogant speech; the British delegate, Ernest Davies, had been provoked to a harsh reply; and the acting president, M. Parodi, had intervened and adjourned the meeting until the next day. Apparently French diplomacy, in the person of M. Parodi, had resigned the mediating role which it had played in many of the most difficult moments of the conference. This was the more regrettable since the conference seemed to have entered a phase in which the gap between the Russian and the Western point of view was narrowing. The chief cause of contention, the demilitarization of Germany and the priority of this question, was no longer in dispute. Even the issue of the Atlantic Pact, which Russia tried to put on the agenda over American objections, was later set aside by Gromyko. At present the disagreements resolve themselves to this: the West wants to drown the reduction of armaments in the inventory of armaments; Russia wants the reverse.

But while these tedious and trying talks have centered around the subjects mentioned above, both sides have been constantly watching developments outside the Palais Rose. The Western powers have felt their position strengthened by a series of events among which the most spectacular has been the signing of the Schuman Plan. The Russians have been encouraged by the multiplication of difficulties within the Atlantic coalition. In the opinion of some diplomatic observers, these factors explained why Mr. Gromyko last Friday rejected the three different agenda drafts presented by Mr. Jessup in an effort to break the deadlock. The Western interpretation of this was that the Russians are not now in any hurry to arrive at an agreement. But neither are they in any hurry to end the Paris talks, and as long as the talks continue one can still hope for a meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Washington. There is even the possibility that out of such a meeting might come a solution for Korea, which seems, from the point of view of the United Nations, to have brought Western diplomacy to its lowest point.

# *The Railroads and the 14th Amendment*

## BY DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY

IT'S news when a railroad pays damages for having humiliated and discommoded a Negro passenger. A few months ago the Seaboard Airline Railroad made such a payment, to the tune of $1,500. Yet the trial which began in the Federal Court of the Southern District of New York on January 8 and ended three hours later in a settlement was overlooked by the Associated Press and the metropolitan dailies.

Mrs. Lillie Belle Perez, a widow of fifty living in New York City, had taken a trip on April 5, 1948, to visit relatives in Tampa, Florida. She had obtained a seat on one of the reserved day coaches of the "Silver Meteor," a through train from New York to Tampa. This train travels over the tracks of the Pennsylvania from New York to Richmond and then over the Seaboard's tracks, changing crews at Richmond. After the train left Richmond, Mrs. Perez, in spite of her protests, was forced to move from her reserved seat to a Jim Crow coach, and at Wildwood, Florida, was transferred to a local train marked "For Colored Only."

On her return to New York in June she sued the two railroads for $100,000 and filed a complaint with the Interstate Commerce Commission, which she withdrew after her suit against Seaboard was settled. Her case against the Pennsylvania, which had not discommoded her, was dismissed by Judge Samuel H. Kaufman.

Mrs. Perez was able to collect damages because the United States Supreme Court has ruled more than once against Jim Crow practices in interstate commerce. The first victory was won in 1941 by Arthur W. Mitchell, who from 1935 to 1943 represented the First Illinois District in Congress. Mr. Mitchell, a Negro born in the deep South, who had been Booker T. Washington's office boy at Tuskegee Institute and had risen to be a lawyer and a Congressman, argued his own case before the high court.

In 1937 he bought two first-class tickets entitling him

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to an entire Pullman compartment on a trip from Chicago to Hot Springs, Arkansas. After the train crossed into Arkansas, a conductor of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad moved him to a foul-smelling Jim Crow car, at the same time using language that Representative Mitchell considered "too opprobrious and profane" to be spread upon the court record. The conductor, no doubt, feared that he would be penalized if he did not move the Negro passenger, since an Arkansas law passed in 1893 calls on railroads "to provide equal but separate and sufficient accommodations for the white and African races" and imposes a fine on conductors who do not carry out the law.

The Interstate Commerce Commission threw out the Mitchell case in 1938, violating thereby its own legal charter. "It shall be unlawful," the I. C. C. act, passed in 1886, says, "for any common carrier to subject any particular person . . . to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever." Tongue in cheek, the I. C. C. ruled that under the circumstances lack of equal (first-class) accommodations was not unduly prejudicial "because there was comparatively little colored traffic." The three-judge Federal District Court, to which I. C. C. decisions are appealed under the law, took the same position.

When Representative Mitchell carried his case to the Supreme Court, he was backed by Solicitor General Francis Biddle, and opposed by ten Southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Their segregation statutes, the attorney generals of these states argued, were enacted "for the purpose of promoting the welfare, comfort, peace, and safety of the people of both races." Abolition of the statutes, they held, was up to Congress and not the Supreme Court—where the filibuster could not be invoked.

IT WAS later than the South thought. Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, in his opinion of April 28, 1941, did not pass on the states' segregation laws, but he and the entire court held that denial of equal accommodations to a person because of his race "would be an invasion of a fundamental individual right which is guaranteed against state action by the Fourteenth Amendment."

For some years the Mitchell decision was construed as applying only to Negroes traveling on first-class tickets. But in 1948, in a case brought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the I. C. C. ruled that three women who, like Mrs. Perez, had seats in a reserved-seat coach were entitled to remain in them. Mrs. Vashti Brown and her sisters had been accompanying their father's body from New York to Atlanta and had been moved to a Jim Crow coach on the Southern Railway.

Two years earlier the N. A. A. C. P. had taken an interstate bus case to the Supreme Court and won: Mrs. Irene Morgan, traveling by Greyhound bus from Baltimore to Norfolk, had declined to move to the rear after it crossed the Virginia line and had been jailed and fined $10. The court declared the state's segregation law to be "a burden on interstate commerce." As a result, in April, 1950, the N. A. A. C. P. was able to collect $1,500 in damages for Miss Elizabeth Whiteside, who had been put off an interstate bus when it crossed from Missouri into Kentucky.

Progress had been made, but though Negroes slept in the same Pullmans as white folks and used the same smoker and lounge, they were still eating behind a curtain or partition in diners, provided there was a seat for them. Finally, in June, 1950, the Supreme Court ruled on a dining-car case. It was brought by Elmer W. Henderson, who while traveling from Washington to Birmingham as a field representative of the President's Commission on Fair Employment Practices in 1942, had been denied service in the diner, the steward refusing to seat him with white passengers. The I. C. C. and the three-judge District Court had upheld the Southern Railway's regulation.

In the Supreme Court Mr. Henderson was supported by United States Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, who attacked the I. C. C. ruling as Solicitor General Biddle had in 1941. "The notion," Mr. McGrath said in a sixty-eight-page brief, "that separate but equal facilities satisfy constitutional and statutory prohibitions against discrimination is obsolete. The phrase 'equal rights' means the same rights." He referred to the doctrine, yet to be overthrown, laid down in Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896.

In an eight-to-nothing decision the court held for Mr. Henderson but ducked the constitutional issue, saying that dining-car segregation clearly violated the Interstate Commerce Act.

In November the I. C. C. directed the Southern Railway, and by inference all Southern lines, not to refuse dining-car service to any person because of race. The Southern Railway claimed that it had put such an order into effect July 1. But Mr. Henderson told the I. C. C. that the regulation issued to stewards was still discriminatory. The Southern Railway's instructions, he said, read as follows: "When entering singly, women will be seated with women, men with men, young people with young people, elderly persons with elderly persons, white persons with white persons, and Negroes with Negroes." The Southern replied that no Negro had been refused service when there was a seat in the diner and no complaints had been received.

In all events the Henderson decision has given traveling Negroes a new self-confidence. Since June the N. A. A. C. P. has received more than fifty communica-



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tions from Negroes who claim they have suffered some form of discrimination by railroads or buses. The N. A. A. C. P. is hopeful that the Henderson decision will be held to apply to all kinds of interstate travel, no matter what class a Negro is traveling or whether he starts from a Northern or a Southern terminus. One such decision has recently been handed down by Judge Morris A. Soper of the Fourth United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond. On January 27 Judge Soper ruled that the Atlantic Coast Line had violated the rights of W. C. Chance, a school principal, who in 1948 intended to travel by day coach from Virginia to New York, refused to enter the Jim Crow car, and was put off the train.

# *Why Our Allies Complain*

## BY FRITZ STERNBERG

AMERICAN military expenditures, which were one-fourteenth (7 per cent) of the national income in the second half of 1950, are to climb to nearly one-fifth (18 per cent) in 1951-52. That is an Administration estimate, made on the assumption that the tension between the Western and the Soviet bloc will continue but will not become worse during the next two years. As I explained in a previous article, the United States has never before had a peace-time military budget that consumed nearly one-fifth of its production and national income; nor have its peace-time military expenditures ever reached the point where they necessitated a lowering of the standard of living. Yet that must now be expected. In 1951 military expenditures can go up to 18 per cent only if the output of consumers' goods is curtailed—which means that the standard of living must go down.

In 1951 increased industrial production cannot possibly keep abreast of the increased demand for military goods. As to how large a gain in production can be expected in 1951, the Economic Report of the President, transmitted to Congress, January, 1951, says:

> In the face of current circumstances and problems we feel that maximum production for 1951 should bring an annual rate of output of about 310 billion dollars at 1950 prices, by the end of the year. While this rate of growth is much higher than the average rate of growth in more normal times, it is not above the reach of our resources as we now should use them. The total increase would be about 20 billion dollars, or about 7 per cent above the annual rate at the end of 1950. Roughly 15 billion dollars of this total gain could be expected to come from increases in employment and working hours, and the remainder from increases in productivity.

In short, the increase in military expenditures from 7 to 18 per cent of the national income will be counteracted by a mere 7 per cent increase in industrial output. That is why the production of consumers' goods will have to be cut. Actually it will have to be cut even more than these figures seem to indicate, since only 25 per cent of the gain for 1951—roughly 2 per cent in relation to over-all production—will come from increased productivity; the larger part of the gain will be due to a rise in employment, with more women and older persons working, and the contemplated longer working week. Nevertheless, despite greater man-power and longer hours, fewer consumers' goods will be turned out in 1951 and probably also in 1952. By and large, the American standard of living will be restored to its 1950 level only in a later phase of the rearmament program. This is made clear in the Economic Report:

> By way of rough illustration, if the labor and investment efforts which will be essential to accomplish the targets for 1951 are achieved and maintained, total national production at an annual rate should rise by about 25 per cent within five years. This would bring us about 60 billion dollars above the current level, which would be enough to absorb a yearly defense effort at the levels to be reached at the end of this year, to maintain and expand our productive plant, and *at the same time to bring per capita consumption for a growing population up to the level achieved in 1950.*

Thus if the 1955 level of production exceeds the current level by 25 per cent, it should be possible not only to restore the present standard of living but to carry out investment programs for the future expansion of output. In the near future, however, we must expect a general decline in the standard of living, accompanied by economic and social struggles generated by the question of how the burden is to be distributed. The danger that the lower income brackets will suffer more than the upper ones is accentuated by the strong inflationary trends that have prevailed ever since the beginning of the Korean war. During World War II prices could be kept relatively stable; the depreciation of the dollar set in only afterward. The next few years will show whether the American government will be strong enough to stabilize

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*FRITZ STERNBERG, distinguished economist, will soon bring out a new book, "Socialism and Capitalism on Trial." In* The Nation *of April 7 he wrote on Rearmament's Rising Tempo.*



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prices adequately during the defense boom, on top of an economy already in high gear. Unless the dangers that threaten from this direction are surmounted, they will intensify existing social conflicts.

However, certain facts should not be overlooked. One is that the present standard of living in America is exceptionally high, much higher than that of the big industrial nations of Europe, and another is that this standard has gone up substantially within the last ten years as a result of the tremendous growth in production. Even if it declines during the first phase of rearmament, it will still be about 25 per cent above the 1940 level. The chart below shows how the American standard of living rose between 1929 and 1950.

The situation in Europe is very different. At the end of World War I production in the major industrial countries of Europe—Britain, France, and Germany—was only about 60 per cent as high as in 1913; in America production was about 15 per cent higher than in 1913. In the decade following World War I American production, already above the pre-war level, experienced a further upswing, while the European countries were hard put to attain even their 1913 level; as late as 1929 production in Britain lagged behind 1913. During World War II American production rose even more sharply than in World War I. In Europe, on the other hand, World War II brought a tremendous drop in output, and in consequence the workers' standard of living fell everywhere except in Britain.

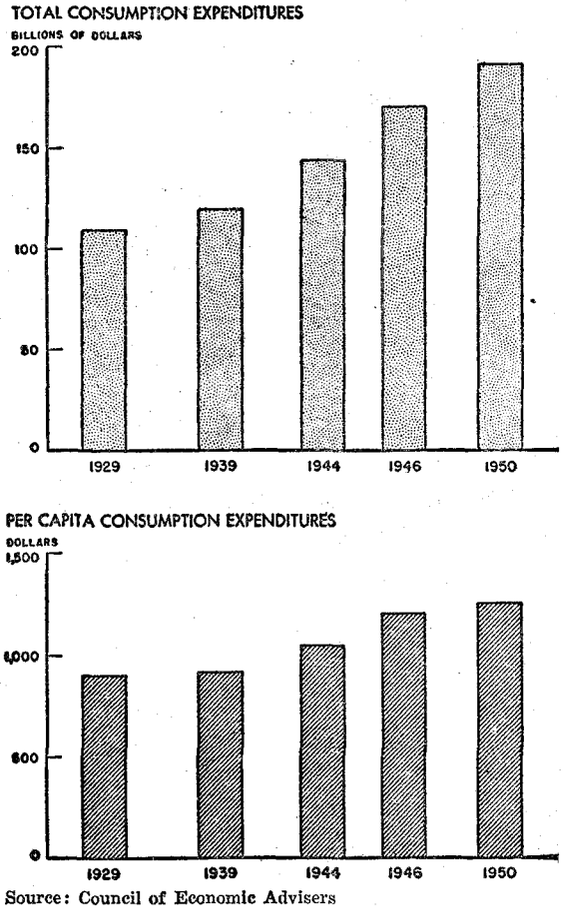
One should not be deceived by reports that Europe has been rebuilt much faster than it was after World War I and that, largely through Marshall aid, Western Europe, with the exception of Germany, is already turning out 25 per cent more goods than before the war. Optimistic reports of this kind fail to show that Europe was in the throes of a depression before World War II: that in Britain, for example, millions were permanently unemployed from 1921 right up to the war itself, and that in France in 1938, the last year before World War II, output was only 75 per cent of what it had been in 1929. Any comparison with the pre-war period is thus misleading. Moreover, in contrast to America, a considerable part of Europe's productive plant must be devoted to reconstruction. Britain, in addition, must use much of its production to turn out goods for export in order to balance its finances. British labor, because of the Labor government's policies, has attained a standard of living equal to and at times even above the pre-war level, but on the continent the broad masses have not yet recovered their low peace-time status. Thus Europe faces the necessity of imposing its rearmament program on an economy which has barely managed to repair the damage wrought by the war and the preceding crisis.

The administration of the Marshall Plan was gravely at fault in not requiring an adequate check of working and living conditions in plants receiving Marshall Plan funds. Many European workers still harbor a feeling of resentment because, as they see it, the Marshall Plan accelerated economic recovery as a whole but did not diminish social inequalities.

Since the economic structure of the countries of Western Europe is incomparably weaker than that of the United States, their productivity much less developed, and their living standards no higher than in 1939 if not below that level, it is unwarranted, as General Eisenhower emphasized, to demand that they contribute the same percentage of their national income to the defense effort as the United States. Too great an increase in the military load placed on France—or on other European countries—might so aggravate the social conflicts that the political damage would be greater than the military benefit.

America is of course giving Europe considerable support in its rearmament effort; in fact, the American contribution to European rearmament already surpasses the aid provided through the Marshall Plan. This gives us an opportunity to correct some of the gravest mistakes of the Marshall Plan and to use our influence to obtain an equitable distribution of the rearmament load among all classes. If the United States wants Europe to rearm, it should see to it that the rearmament program does not make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The danger spots in Europe are explosive and will become more so unless everything possible is done to prevent too sharp a reduction in the European workers' standard of living.

**PERSONAL CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURES**
**1950 PRICES**

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# *Everybody's Business*

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

## Free Trade: Fading Dream

THE third international tariff conference, attended by thirty-four nations, closed at the end of April after being in session for seven months. Torquay, England, where it met, is a seaside resort with a salubrious climate much favored by invalids. Unfortunately it did not prove very bracing to the still ailing cause of unrestricted, multilateral international trade.

However, when the official record of the conference is published shortly, it will show some gains. A hundred and fifty separate bilateral tariff negotiations were concluded, the benefits of which will be generalized under the most-favored-nation clause. This means that if the United States has agreed with Sweden to reduce the duty on table glass, the lower rate will apply to imports of glassware from all other nations.

Altogether, it is understood, this country negotiated fifteen new agreements at Torquay, the most important of which, described as "good to very good," are with West Germany, France, Sweden, and Italy. So presumably we have undertaken to lower barriers against some of the chief products of these countries in return for substantial concessions to American exports.

Another achievement of the conference was an agreement, signed so far by nineteen nations, including the United States and Britain, to maintain customs duties as they are at the conclusion of negotiations until January 1, 1954—a safeguard against any early outbreak of "tariff wars." But in general it must be said that less was accomplished at Torquay than at Geneva in 1947 or Annecy in 1949. That was partly because many countries had exhausted most of their bargaining power at these earlier tariff conferences. In addition, new difficulties and uncertainties in the world economic situation made some nations hesitant to commit themselves to greater freedom of trade at this time.

The major disappointment at Torquay was the failure of negotiations between the United States and four of the Commonwealth nations—Britain itself, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. That old bone of contention, the imperial-preference system, under which members of the Commonwealth charge each other lower rates of duty than apply to the goods of "outsiders," was responsible for the breakdown. The United States, it is reported, was prepared to offer important concessions, particularly on British textiles, in return for substantial reductions in the margin of preference given by Britain to Commonwealth farm products. But the British government was not prepared to deal on these terms. "In this uncertain and dangerous world," said the *Economist* of April 21 in a critical editorial, "it seems still to be the British policy to pull down the shutters, to seek the cosy security of the Commonwealth—without Canada—cushioned by exchange control and import licensing."

Britain's reluctance to abandon these cushions, its refusal to give any definite assurances about relaxation of import restrictions or even modification of the discriminatory manner in which these restrictions are applied, was another reason why Anglo-American relations were somewhat strained at Torquay. After all, Britain has committed itself again and again—in the Lend-Lease agreements, at Bretton Woods, in the Anglo-American loan agreement—to cooperate in promoting a general reduction of trade barriers and, in particular, in eliminating various discriminatory trade practices. When, the United States is inclined to ask, are these pledges to be honored?

Yet it must be admitted that when Britons defend their hesitation by talking of "uncertainty over the future," they have more of a case than some American officials are prepared to admit. There is, in the first place, uncertainty about how long this country will continue to follow Cordell Hull's free-trade policy. Would it survive a Republican victory? That seems doubtful in the light of current Republican efforts to write crippling amendments into the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act now up for renewal. Again, the United States has run out on its own child, the International Trade organization, which was intended not only to foster the gradual elimination of trade barriers but to promote world economic expansion and international action to maintain full employment. The Administration's announcement, in the early days of the Torquay meeting, that it would not ask Congress to ratify the I. T. O. charter did nothing to allay British fears of what Aneurin Bevan has called "the lurchings" of the American economy.

Finally, we must not forget that drastic curtailment of East-West trade has far more serious implications for Britain and some other countries than it has for us. Not only does it cut them off from once important markets, but it promises to intensify competition elsewhere. Thus Germany and Japan, deprived of the normal and natural market for their goods in Eastern Europe and China respectively, are bound to strive more vigorously than ever for outlets in the British Commonwealth. Since these countries combine modern techniques with relatively cheap labor, their competition is probably more feared by Britain than that of the United States, and is undoubtedly one reason for British reluctance to give up its preferred position in the Commonwealth.

Thus the ripples of the cold war spread, and with the world acutely divided, the ideals of free trade, which assume a considerable degree of international unity, continue to languish.



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# BOOKS and the ARTS

## The Mixed Economy

*WHAT'S AHEAD FOR AMERICAN BUSINESS.* By Sumner H. Slichter. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $2.75.

SUMNER SLICHTER'S popular fame rests to a considerable extent on his description of the United States as a "laboristic" economy. Conservatives who have concluded from this that he is on their side may be disillusioned by his new book.

He is equally emphatic in rejecting laissez faire and pure socialism. Of the former he writes, "Most important of all the changes that have affected our economy in late years are changes in ideas and preferences. The essential change in ideas may be put in one sentence: it is the abandonment of the view that the economy is self-regulating and that it is a mistake for the government to interfere with its operation." And on the other side: "The principal charges made by Karl Marx against the capitalist system, for example, could have been shown to be untrue at the time they were made, had adequate statistical series been available. At the very time that Marx was charging capitalism with producing greater concentration of wealth, it was actually building a large middle class."

With some reservations Slichter now accepts the term "mixed economy" as the best description of our present state, and while he finds many things to worry about, he is generally in favor of it. His concluding sentence is: "By forcing the members of the community constantly to improve and extend its ethical codes, a dynamic economy gives dignity and significance to the lives of millions of men."

In the course of a comparatively short book the author covers a wide range of topics and at times necessarily deals with them in rather sweeping generalizations. It is not likely that any reader will agree with all of them, but they are at once sufficiently documented and sufficiently provocative to make very good reading. The book is intended to invite a reexamination of fundamental principles by everyone, regardless of political persuasion, and in this it is remarkably successful. The economic dilemmas of the time are presented with incisive clarity, whether or not one accepts the conclusions and predictions.

Generally speaking, Professor Slichter is optimistic. Parts of the book have been revised in the light of the Korean war, but most of the material was developed for a series of lectures presented at Stanford University in July, 1950, and the predictions are apparently all based on the assumptions that the present defense economy will be of relatively short duration and that there will be no all-out war. At the present moment it seems likely that changes both in the economy and in public opinion will be greater than those the author anticipated.

The range of subject matter covered is impressive. Among the many topics discussed are the power of labor unions and the author's belief that there will not be a labor party in the United States; the concrete possibilities of increased production and productivity; the labor force and the importance of providing more jobs for women and older workers; the economic position of this country in the world, with a strong argument for lower tariffs and greater imports; the tax structure; the economic and political position of farmers; the so-called dilemma of thrift; the future of small business and the confusions inherent in the anti-trust laws.

At times Professor Slichter writes with an unexpected and very dry wit. In his discussion of trust-busting and the sometimes successful efforts of business to use the anti-trust laws as a deterrent to price-cutting, he notes a "failure to distinguish between protecting enterprises from stiff competition and protecting consumers from lack of stiff competition." Of business's position in public opinion he says, "In 1950 business was doing an indifferent job of presenting its views and, in particular, was presenting many conclusions that were not the result of careful research and thought. Since there is much room for improvement, the influence of business may be expected to grow."

On the other hand, while Professor Slichter expects the economic activities of government in the United States to grow rather than diminish, he believes that compromise is inherent in democracy, and that democracy is therefore incompatible with comprehensive economic planning. To which he adds, "It is more important, of course, to have a democratic economy than a planned one."

CHARLES E. NOYES

## Of Boors and Heroes

*WORLD SO WIDE.* By Sinclair Lewis. Random House. $3.

*RETURN TO PARADISE.* By James A. Michener. Random House. $3.50.

IT IS interesting to speculate on what would have happened if their publisher had interchanged the titles of Sinclair Lewis's last novel and James Michener's new collection of tales of the South Pacific. It would have been an understandable error, for the essential concern of both writers is with American innocents abroad in the world so wide, and their paradise is not really history-incrusted sunny Italy or the fairy islands of the South Seas—it is still the United States, a paradise inhabited by wonderful boors. The boors have gone forth reluctantly to conquer the world, but in the end they must return, as must those who are amused and horrified by them: Mr. Michener loved the South Pacific, but he had to come home again ("with a tremendous appreciation of my native land"), and Hayden Chart, the final Lewis hero, loved Italy, but he too had to come home ("home by way of Ceylon and India and Japan, if they'll let us in. Home!").

In its essentials the portrait of the unseeing innocent painted by both Lewis and Michener is the same. Lewis gives us the retired tourist, "the man of affairs and efficiency and death," seated in St. Mark's Square in Venice with his wife. "But while the wife bent her neck forward, enraptured by the glow of the San Marco mosaics, the husband showed his frustration by jiggling his feet, tap-



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ping on the table, violently trying to catch flies, looking at his watch, clearing his throat, yawning, and making a sporadic sound halfway between a hum and a band-saw. . . . 'Well, come on, come on, Heaven's sake, let's get going!' 'Going *where?*' his wife sighed, 'We're here!' 'I know, but good God, you can't just sit around all *day!* Let's —we can go back to the hotel and write some more letters, can't we?' "

Michener gives us the spiritual son of Lewis's retired tourist, Private Max Murphy, who came from Brooklyn "to Ferrymead and sat with his feet on the ottoman, delivering his opinions of New Zealand. 'Until I rode on a New Zealand train I didn't know what murder was. When the train stops everybody piles out for tea and sandwiches—he pronounced it *sangriches*—and if you get caught in the middle you're a dead duck. . . . But it's not diners I'm worried about, it's the disrespect New Zealand men show their women. . . . Now in America . . .' "

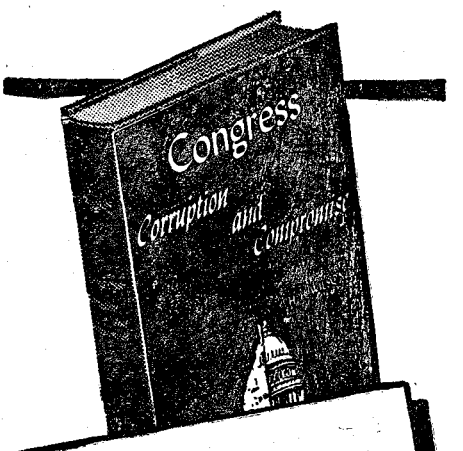
Sinclair Lewis was dealing, as he had so often done before, with the spiritual enlargement of a young American. Hayden Chart, Colorado architect and widower, escapes from his stultifying environment, learns about culture in Italy, and returns at the end with a lively hometown girl. Practically all the story takes place in Italy, but Hayden never actually knows any Italians. Instead, he is exposed to a variety of transplanted Americans, some like the man in St. Mark's Square, some like Sam Dodsworth, and some—the most worth-while, of course—like himself. What is pathetic is that all of them, from the big operator who can "swing a big traction deal" to the culture-hungry college girl, are made to speak in the go-getter accents of the twenties. Lewis sensed, in these last pages, that the By Golly, Yes Sirree backslapper was being replaced by a suaver—and more ominous—American conservative, but this was a phenomenon with which he simply could not cope, and perhaps that is why his wide world now begins to look so much narrower.

The Michener stories alternate with descriptive essays on The Atoll, Fiji, Guadalcanal, New Guinea, and so on, each of which constitutes a chapter in the author's own spiritual enlargement. Some of the work has apparently been done on assignment, but while the stories, all taking off from one aspect of the preceding essay, often bear the scars of a laboriously dutiful assembly job, the essays are fresh and forthright.

I think this is because Mr. Michener, ashamed of our boors and proud of our heroes, is basically a warmhearted and modest Kilroy. He writes in the tradition of the American journalist-traveler, and because he is at once curious, gregarious, liberal, patriotic, and receptive to different ways of life, he can become enthusiastic virtually in the same breath over awesome island scenery and the fact that Australian steak costs 29 cents a pound, without arousing in us any emotions more ignoble than envy and a wan desire to follow in his expensive footsteps. Book-club members who cannot afford to leave the American paradise will be fortified in their intuitions that the far-off Edens are great to visit but no good to live in, particularly without Mary Martin to enliven the languorous air; while those who, like this reviewer, have been so fortunate as to make even a cursory tour of the South Pacific will have to concede that James Michener is justly rapturous about the sunsets, the foliage, and the glamour of the islands, without overlooking the deficiencies and the reactionary aspects of life in this far corner of the world.

This is in short a very pleasant travel book, full of charming vignettes, stray facts, and not especially penetrating insights into the power structure of the area, the racial relationships, and this country's role in the Pacific, about which Mr. Michener is apprehensive.

However, one must take issue with Mr. Michener's self-appraisal, which finds the fictional portions of his book more "truthful" than the rest. If this were so, one could salute the author as a true creative artist, but unfortunately his stories range from atrocious Noel Coward (Until They Sail, an endless chin-up saga of a New Zealand family) to passable Somerset Maugham (The Mynah Birds, about a stuffy American career diplomat almost overwhelmed by racial conflicts in Fiji). It is odd that Mr. Michener, whose charm as a writer, like that of Sinclair Lewis, would seem to reside in his abhorrence of cant and sham and in his peculiarly American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largeness of spirit, should fashion his heavily constructed short stories after the model of English writers whose bland and cynical outlook is so diametrically opposed to his own vivacious optimism. HARVEY SWADOS

## Pamphleteer of Freedom

*THE LIFE RECORDS OF JOHN MILTON.* Volume II, 1639-1651. Edited by J. Milton French. Rutgers University Press. $5.

IN A review (*The Nation*, August 5, 1950) of the first volume of this important work, which will be completed in four volumes, an attempt was made to describe the combination of broad scope and minute attention to detail which characterizes both the author's purpose and his achievement. All that needs to be said, by way of brief recapitulation, is that the work is not a biography. It offers rather the materials of biography in day-by-day, year-by-year notes of what Milton did, wrote, and said and of contemporary happenings that concerned him during the critical years after his return from Italy up to the publication of his "Defense of the English People."

Volume II reveals a Milton unfamiliar to general readers of the early poems but a man eminently worthy of the respect reserved for those who do not flinch in the face of stern duty and who give themselves freely for the common good. After a short interval of school teaching Milton moved with increasing speed into the arena of public affairs. Long-planned literary projects painfully put aside, he entered the fierce debate on the issue of church and state. No solution of the question satisfied him except complete separation of the two domains. With rare courage he attacked the divorce laws then accepted by all Christians, and demanded radical reform. He wrote a classic justification of a free press and of freedom of thought. A month after the execution of Charles I he published a vigorous defense of regicide when committed to purge the state of a tyrant. He struck hard blows at the attempt to canonize the dead king, one of the most dangerous pieces of Stuart propaganda. He accepted appointment as Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Council of State. He passionately defended the deeds and character of his countrymen against the furious assault of Stuart hate penned by the eminent scholar Salmasius. All this massive record of Milton's struggle for the liberty of man's conscience and person, and much more of his thought and labor, finds faithful presentation in this volume. Here fact piled on fact builds the image of a leader immune to corruption, fearless in speaking the truth, and not to be silenced by those who spoke harm to freedom whether by authority of king or bishop.

Professor French records the data he has so painstakingly gathered with the cool objectivity that marks all true scholarship. It is impossible to believe, however, that he did not experience an inner glow as he created this volume. Certainly no reader can escape a stirring warmth or resist the wish that a fuller knowledge of Milton's public service might make him doctrinal to our age. DONALD A. ROBERTS


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# Verse Chronicle

IN AMERICA," I have heard a distinguished European émigré quoted as saying, "novels are written by journalists, and poetry by professors." A little of the sting is eased, on our side of the fence at least, if we reflect that in a good many cases the poetry came before the profession, and that men were called to academic chairs, with the Ph.D. requirement waived, because they were poets. In this respect the twentieth century, as compared with the nineteenth, can possibly lay some claim to progress.

What this leads up to is some notice of the work of a man who preceded this dispensation, a man who has been both professor and poet all his adult life. In 1947 the University of New Hampshire Writers' Conference made its poetry award to Donald C. Babcock, a professor of history in that university, and some thirty short poems of his were issued in brochure form under the title "For Those I Taught." To quote here, with your indulgence, from my own foreword to that very far from representative selection of Mr. Babcock's total work: "Written for his students,



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the thirty poems in this collection are informed with wisdom, humility, and love. And they have virtues of the letter as well as of the spirit: a respect for the language and its tradition, as distinguished from a weakness for its fashion; craftsmanship, an eye, and an ear." And, I should have added, a heart.

Those poems have now been reissued, with the addition of a new section entitled "The Friendly Commonplace, Being a Book of Graces Before Meat and Other Homely Devotions" (The American Weave Press, Cleveland, 75 cents). There are forty-three six-line graces, a miniature Hesiodic calendar, stanzas of thanks and praise for rhubarb, dandelion greens, green peas, for Fourth of July, for a meeting of the Men's Club, for Christmas Day and New Year's. A religious poet is rare in this country, and a man whose religious emotions are combined with brevity of expression and a sense that God is better praised by that soul of wit is even rarer still. Here, for instance, is a Post-Prandial Grace:

Now, being of thy bounty fed,
We turn us unto speech for bread.
Prevent us, Lord, lest we put forth
The form of wit without the worth.
Though laughter flow from lingual play,
Grant substance to the words we say.

"The Friendly Commonplace" includes commemoration of such simple blessings as a Midnight Snack:

Forbid that we should come to be
Within the taint of gluttony.
Yet even our third appointed meal
Leaves the strange hunger that we feel
For comforting of milk and bread
Before the eyelids turn to lead.

Messrs. Kimon Friar and John Malcolm Brinnin, editors of "Modern Poetry: American and British" (Appleton, Century, Crofts, $4), state in their preface that having thoughtfully considered some two thousand volumes, their inclusion or omission of a poet or an example of his work is in the nature of a criticism. Since none of my own work is included, and that of some, in my opinion, very dubious operators is, the gentlemen would have to be extremely naive to expect a fair-minded review from this quarter. The poems in the anthology are arranged in chronological order, according to birth-years of the authors; they begin with Emily Dickinson (1830) and end with James Merrill (1926). Following Dickinson come Hardy (1840) and Hopkins (1844); preceding Merrill are Sidney Keyes (1922-43) and Howard Moss (1922).

Judged from the apparatus with which it is provided, the book is intended for the scholar and student rather than the amateur or dilettante; in other words—semantics being what they are—for the eager and earnest rather than the lover and delighter. The appendix offers a long essay, Myth and Metaphysics, subtitled An Introduction to Modern Poetry. This is ordered and has obviously cost some laborious thinking, which is transmitted in an also somewhat laborious prose style, with some recklessness or insufficiency of judgment. "Thus all materialities of the cosmos are purified of substance into an aesthetically created World and Word enfolded in its own and only reality, and whose single tenuous relation to outer phenomena are the eyes which might, but need not, read it." "Aeneas . . . carries with him . . . the detachment of the hero free from passions of love and war." This of the person who wept when the god ordered him to leave Dido, who was thrown into a berserk rage by the death of the young prince Pallas! "Since Dante's time . . . every poet has since, in despair, tried to become Dante." Pardon me, but I doubt very much that Herrick, Marvell, or Lovelace, or God knows how many others, ever made any such effort. After this essay the book contains a hundred-odd pages of notes, varying in length from the statement that Léonie Adams was born in Brooklyn on December 9, 1899, to forty pages on Eliot. These have probably cost compositor and proofreader more scrupulous attention than they will anybody else; all right to dip into, nothing to settle down with, unless you have to pass an exam.

"The Shadow of the Swimmer," by Charles Edward Eaton (Fine Editions Press, $3), contains a wealth of sensuous observation and imagery, marred by some carelessness or ignorance in the motion and texture of line, marred too by a tendency to force unnecessary labels on the symbols, to obtrude the flat abstract morality on the illuminated fable. A taskmaster concerned with Mr. Eaton's own best good should impose on him, for home work, doing a sonnet, no, a


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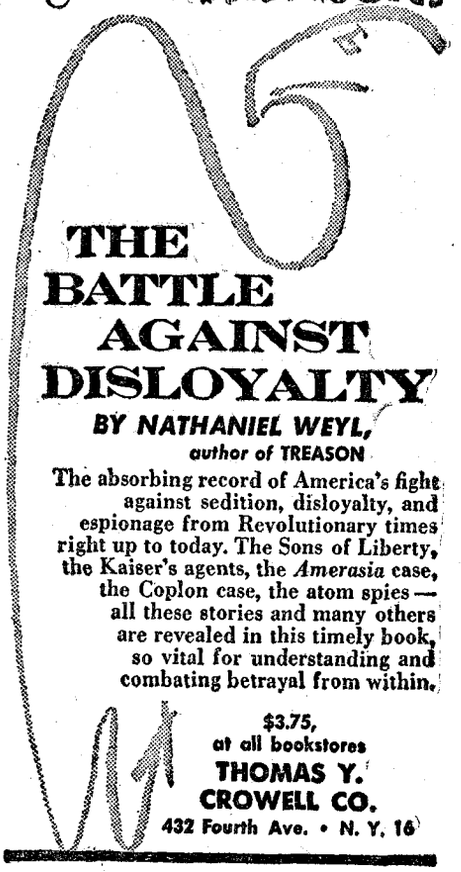

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sestina, without one single adjective at all. And why do so many people seem so sure that the word *dream* is so damn poetic? ROLFE HUMPHRIES

# Books in Brief

*PATTERN FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE.* By William Foote Whyte. Harper. $3.50. An illuminating case history in labor relations. The factory studied is the Inland Steel Container Company's Chicago plant; the union is a local of the United Steelworkers of America. What makes the study particularly interesting is its detailed analysis of the steps by which distrust and conflict were gradually replaced by cooperation and mutual respect, to the vast benefit of both the corporation and the workers. The author writes objectively but with a novelist's flair for dramatizing personalities and issues.

*ONE WOMAN'S FIGHT.* By Vashti Cromwell McCollum. Doubleday. $3. A chatty little book by an Illinois mother about a famous suit she brought to ban religious instruction in the public school her son attended; of how she was violently abused by local and religious organizations but finally won her case on appeal to the Supreme Court.


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## Drama

*MARGARET MARSHALL*

THE dialogue of "The Little Blue Light" by Edmund Wilson, which ran for a week at the ANTA Playhouse, is, as one might expect, irreverent, pointed, and amusing. The actors obviously took delight in voicing Mr. Wilson's satirical commentary on sex, politics, and religion; their mood was infectious, and I enjoyed the evening.

The play as play, however, is not likely to survive. Mr. Wilson rides off in so many directions and his attitude toward his characters is so inconstant that in the end one has no clear idea of what his aim is—apart from overturning all the platitudes. Which is an honorable aim but doesn't necessarily make for dramatic effectiveness.

The hero of the piece is a liberal editor, Frank, who is making a last stand for free expression in a United States that has degenerated into a jungle of pressure groups. But Mr. Wilson can't resist poking fun at liberal editors, and while I can appreciate the temptation, it plays hob with the intention—and the necessity in terms of plot—of making a hero of this one; with the result that the spectator is never quite able to take him seriously. The attitude toward the writer of science fiction, one Gandersheim, who is also a homosexual with a mother fixation, is likewise shifting. Actually the only character toward whom the author maintains a fairly consistent attitude is the wife, Judith; and Judith, moreover, is the only character who holds her own as an individual rather than a type.

The play is cast in the form of a thriller with all the trimmings—Mr. Wilson seems to be making fun of playwriting too. A good deal of suspense is generated in the first half, but it somehow leaks away during the second, and the climax hasn't the force it should have. I think the trouble here is that the play, in psychological terms, should somehow end happily, with the triumph of the liberal editor. But Mr. Wilson, one feels, can't resist annihilating Frank, Gandersheim, and Judith. And the spectator, thanks to the author's success in making all his characters a little ridiculous, is in the position of not knowing whether to be glad or sorry or a little of both—which is no position for a spectator to be in at the climax of a play.

There is what appears to be an attempt to pick up the pieces in an epilogue consisting of a solemn speech by the gardener—who has begun as a comedy character and turns out to be, of all things, the Wandering Jew; but this epilogue doesn't seem, to put it mildly, inevitable.

The play may be had in book form and is fun to read if only because it violates every precept of the Hays Code. By which I mean the Haze Code of timidity and solemnity that dominates practically every medium of public expression these days and makes one wonder what ever became of the guffaw that made this country great.

## Records

*B. H. HAGGIN*

HERE is a report on recent recordings of songs:

Fourteen songs of Hugo Wolf, sung by Alfred Poell, bass-baritone (Westminster). They include some of the best, and nearly all are good or are made to seem good by Poell, a member of the Vienna Opera, who has a remarkably beautiful voice which he uses with powers of expressive projection and musical intelligence that make him an outstanding singer and an exciting find. German texts (with mistakes) and translations (with omissions) are supplied.

Sixteen songs of Brahms (Westminister). More of Poell's superb singing in some of Brahm's better songs and some of his poorer ones. German texts and translations.

Songs of Wolf and Brahms, sung by Suzanne Danco, soprano (London). They are sung in an over-cultivated style and with insufficient animation—also with occasional shrillness in a high note. The recording has a prominent



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resonance. English summaries of the texts.

Songs from "Des Knaben Wunderhorn" by Mahler, sung by Poell and Lorna Sydney, mezzo-soprano, with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Prohaska (Vanguard). Early but characteristic in moods and style, and some very fine. Poell sings magnificently again, but Sydney's voice is breathy and afflicted with excessive tremolo. The orchestra's excellent playing is reproduced with a beauty of orchestral sound clearly defined in space that I haven't heard recently from records; but it is blanketed by the singers. German texts and translations.

Schumann's "Liederkreis" and songs of Brahms, sung by Lorna Sydney (Vanguard). Of these I like only "Waldesgespräch" and "Mondnacht" of the Schumann cycle; and the singing is no better than in the Mahler songs. German texts and translations.

Schumann's "Frauenliebe und Leben" and Brahms's "Vier ernste Gesänge," sung by Katherine Ferrier, contralto (London). Uninteresting music, beautifully sung. The recording has that prominent resonance of London recordings. Only English summaries of the texts.

Songs of Schubert, Schumann, Haydn, Mozart, Brahms, sung by Elena Nikolaidi, contralto (Columbia). They are excellently sung, but the voice doesn't have in them the breathtaking beauty it has in the previously issued arias from "Don Carlo," "Macbeth," and "Semiramide" that are on the reverse side of the record. Audible surfaces; no texts.

Songs of Schubert and Mozart, sung by Genevieve Warner, soprano (Columbia). They include a couple of less familiar Schubert songs which are also less interesting. The voice is one of the loveliest now to be heard in public, and is used with unfailing musical taste but with, as yet, no personal or expressive force. No texts.

Schubert's "Gretchen am Spinnrade" and "Liebesbotschaft," well sung by Marian Anderson (RCA Victor 45 rpm).

Debussy's "Trois Chansons de Bilitis," "Le Promenoir des duex amants," "Ariettes oubliées (incomplete), sung by Suzanne Danco (London). The lovely sounds Danco produces in her cultivated style seem appropriate to these songs, which I don't care for. A resonance and hum this time; English translations only.

Debussy's "Ariettes oubliées," sung by Hugues Cuenod, tenor (Vanguard). The songs are much more effective as sung with a voice of little sensuous beauty but with extraordinary expressive coloring and inflection and with powerful personal force. Some surface crackling; French texts and translations. Fauré's "Les Mélodies de Venise," to the same poems of Verlaine, are also on the record.

Spanish and Italian songs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, sung by Hugues Cuenod (Westminister). Songs and performances very fine. No texts this time; badly crackling surfaces.

Eight Hungarian folk songs arranged by Bartok, and Bartok's Five Songs Opus 16, sung by Nina Valery, soprano (Allegro). The folksongs are impressive, Bartok's own songs mean nothing to me; all are sung well. No texts; gritty surfaces.

Poulenc's "Banalités" and "Chansons villageoises," sung by Pierre Bernac (Columbia). I find "Voyage à Paris" and "Chanson de la fille frivole" amusing and "Le Mendiant" powerful, the rest uninteresting. All are excellently sung. No texts; and Ravel's "Histoires naturelles" and "Trois Chants hébraiques" are on the same record.

Elisabeth Schumann's performances of songs by Wolf (Allegro) and Du Bose Robertson's of songs by Dowland (Allegro) are things to skip.

## CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES E. NOYES is the author of "Economic Freedom."

HARVEY SWADOS has published short stories in the little magazines. He writes reviews for the New York *Post* and has contributed to the *Progressive* and the *Menorah Journal.*

DONALD A. ROBERTS is assistant professor of English at the City College of New York.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES, *The Nation's* poetry critic, is the author of several volumes of poetry. His latest book is a verse translation of the "Aeneid" of Virgil.

# Letters to the Editors

## Liberals' Debate

*Dear Sirs:* I have often disagreed with but always respected *The Nation.* Here are some notes about Freda Kirchwey's comments upon my exchange with the London *New Statesman and Nation.*

After my article appeared in the *New Republic* of March 5, Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman and Nation,* publicly asked me to make a specific reply to his rejoinder. I did this in a letter dated March 14, written in all good faith. He has never acknowledged this, and I suppose it is now too late to expect him to publish it.

My views, of course, differ from yours about the English magazine. I believe Mr. Martin has a cultural antipathy for the United States which he expresses on every occasion, depicting United States soldiers in Korea as wilful murderers and defending the booing of American tennis players at Wimbledon. I cited what seemed to me to be two untrue statements about Korea in his magazine. Far from defending them, he has not even let the readers of his magazine know they are in dispute.

His magazine has the largest circulation of any weekly journal of opinion in London and is fat with advertising; yet his lack of knowledge of America is fantastic. In the March 24 issue, for example, he speaks of the Washington correspondent Robert S. Allen as "said to be close to MacArthur." The fact is that MacArthur sued Bob Allen and Drew Pearson for a million and a quarter dollars.

I think we should all try to get the *New Statesman and Nation* back on the beam. At present it is one of the principal critics of the Labor government's foreign policy.

RICHARD L. STROUT

Washington, D. C., April 16

[Naturally I cannot comment on Kingsley Martin's failure to publish Mr. Strout's counter-rebuttal, since I have no idea of the reasons for it. As to Mr. Martin's alleged "cultural antipathy" for the United States, I doubt that it exists. Certainly he is sharply critical of American policy and has published some generalizations that seem to me extreme, as well as a few errors of fact. But to say that he expresses this antipathy on anything like "every



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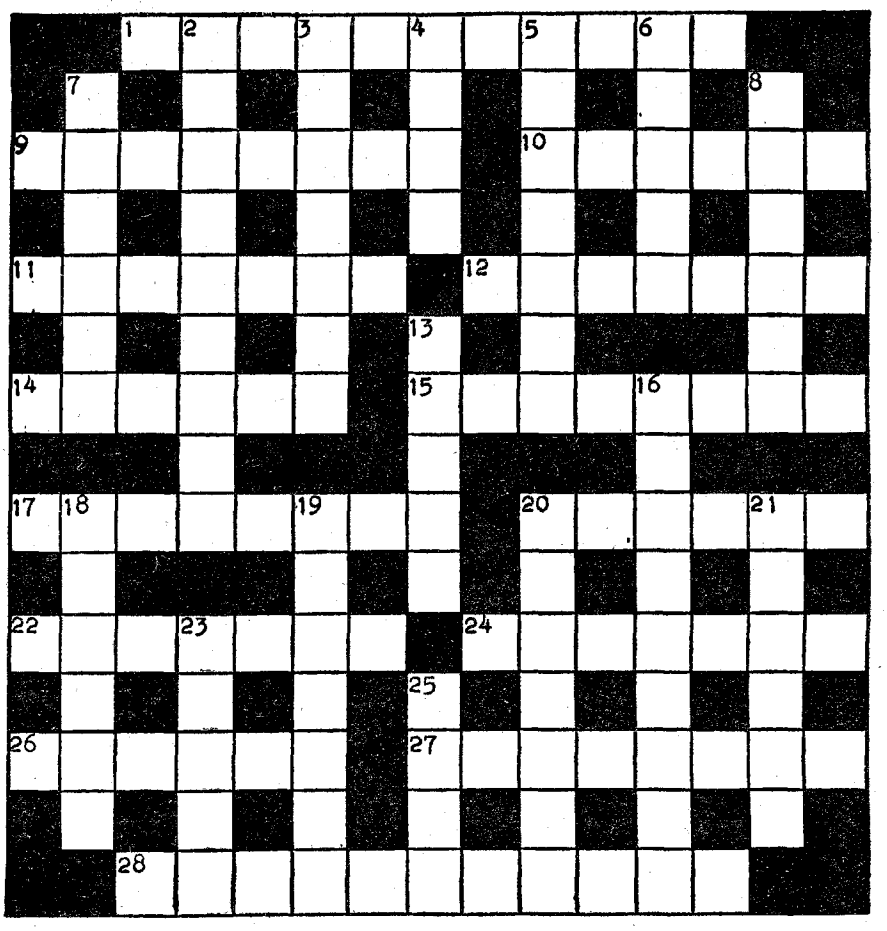
# Crossword Puzzle No. 412

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



### ACROSS

1, 16, 25 and 10 Implying one took "oxen" to be "toxin"? (3, 4, 4, 2, 7, 4, 6)
9 and 18 Do cavalry officers on parade, in back? (8, 6)
10 See 1
11 Certainly not enemy pilots' quarters! (7)
12 Is sorry for a snake when it uncoils. (7)
14 Covers both sides out of bounds, perhaps. (6)
15 Sounds like the good old days, for real fun! (8)
17 Sacrifice? (8)
20 Tire on a vessel. (6)
22 Cross cat. (7)
24 Nothing can come between the hound's cry and the dog catcher. (7)
26 It implies sound holdings. (6)
27 Put down, perhaps. (8)
28 Will the master of his craft? (11)

### DOWN

2 Changes the rule again! It gives me a pain! (9)
3 Minute men. (7)
4 Caesar, spelled with one R. (4)
5 Wash the little darlings, and they'll look like dolls. (7)
6 The quick part of 20 down. (5)
7 The car is wrecked on a peninsula. (6)
8 and 21 Anchor as an example of the fisherman who found the Genie? (6, 6)
13 The spirit of the 23 wood. (5)
16 See 1
18 See 9
19 Is a cattle man so rich and readily available? (2, 5)
20 A filigree that is removed becomes easily breakable. (7)
21 See 8
23 Sort of stone found in 28. (5)
25 See 1

• • ● • •

**SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 411**

ACROSS:—4 CABALLERO; 10 DREAD; 11 EVERGREEN; 12 SATYR; 13 ABYSSINIAN; 17 HURDLE-RACE; 21 FREDA; 22 TULAREMIA; 23 INGLE; 24 LIE IN WAIT; 25 GOOD TASTE; 26 ENTER.

DOWN:—1 OFFSET; 2 TAXIED; 3 ENOUGH; 4 CANTERBURY TALES; 5 BUSINESS COLLEGE; 6 LADYSHIP; 7 ELECTRIC; 8 ORDERING; 14 CHAFFING; 15 ARPEGGIO; 16 ALKOHEST; 18 PRINCE; 19 UMLAUT; 20 1, and 9 MASTER OF THE FOXHOUNDS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.



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occasion" is to go to still greater extremes. And in spite of Mr. Martin's inaccurate comment on Bob Allen, it also seems absurd to say that "his lack of knowledge of America is fantastic." Many excellent articles on the United States have appeared in the *New Statesman*, some by Mr. Martin himself. Nor is it fair, on any count, to describe the *New Statesman* as "one of the principal critics of the Labor government."

In my opinion the *New Statesman* is performing a much-needed service at a time when decisions made in Washington determine, to a great degree, the fate of the British as well as the American people.—F. K.]

## Cardinal Privilege

*Dear Sirs:* I am interested in hearing from agnostics concerning the current film "The Prince of Peace." Perhaps if we organize our protest and circulate petitions, we may succeed in having the film banned as offensive to our religious beliefs. This *is* a cardinal privilege of Americans, is it not?

GERALD WALKER

New York, April 6

## Neuberger Corroborated

*Dear Sirs:* Many an ordinary citizen of Idaho is grateful, I am sure, for Richard L. Neuberger's article about Hell's Canyon dam in *The Nation* of March 24. From this little Idaho village where I live, but a few miles from the dam site, I can corroborate every major statement that Neuberger made. Private power-company interests have our state, with its tumbledown schools, its unbelievably bad roads, and its depressed standards of all sorts, almost completely at their mercy. Idaho's Congressional delegation, our newspapers (with few exceptions), and our Governor feed to the nation at large the propaganda of the Washington Power Company and the Idaho Power Company. They do not express the will of the ordinary people of Idaho.

Our hope is for the development of our one great natural resource, hydro-electric energy, harnessing the countless millions of horse-power that rush by our doors every day. From such development alone can be created the industry and wealth needed here to take us out of the "poor relation" class to which Neuberger so aptly ascribes us.

PAUL KIEPE

Riggins, Idaho, April 7

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